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17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

An instructor's guide of questions and discussions based on taped excerpts is outlined. The objective is to provide insight and understanding of the delinquent's perceptions of schools, school teachers, and school associates. Materials are presented to expose trainees to an orientation toward the delinquent and his behavior in the school setting. These materials include a review of literature which can be used to provide information for trainees prior to the beginning of training sessions, a tape of excerpts taken from group discussions by delinquents, and some introductory material and transcripts of the actual excerpts themselves.

The review of literature investigates the possible relationship between school experience and delinquency. The evidence suggests that the school problems of both delinquents and school dropouts are the same. They are both academic or scholastic misfits, because of intellectual deficiency, or because of the failure of the environment to offer adequate, satisfying situations. Often, a teacher uses an IQ score as an index of what to expect from a pupil; this contributes to the labeling of the child as dumb and incorrectly explains his poor reading, writing, spelling, or mathematical ability as being caused by low IQ. Possible reactions to unsatisfying school experiences, behavioral reactions to the lack of skills and opportunities to make school satisfying, the implication of socioeconomic and ethnic status to the problem, and the implications of peer groups on the problem are reviewed. Conclusions are that the child's basic attitudes and beliefs should be considered, the reward system of the school should be considered, and the importance of peer influence in curriculum modifications and school policy should be considered. A general introduction to taped excerpt material along with six taped excerpts and related questions are presented.

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SCHOOL EXPERIENCE AND DELINQUENCY

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SCHOOL EXPERIENCES AND DELINQUENCY:

CURRICULUM MATERIALS*

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The Materials Enclosed Are Divided
Into Three Sections:

Section One: INSTRUCTOR'S GUIDE (Topic Area -- Schools)
(Six Pages)

Section Two: THE POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SCHOOL EXPERIENCES AND DELINQUENCY: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE
(Twenty-Eight Pages)

Section Three: GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO TAPED EXCERPT MATERIAL
(Twenty-Nine Pages)

Section One

INSTRUCTOR'S GUIDE (Topic Area -- Schools)

(Six Pages)

INSTRUCTOR'S GUIDE

Topic Area -- Schools

The objective of these materials is to expose trainees to a different orientation toward the delinquent and his behavior in the school setting. Their potential value lies in their ability to evoke some new perceptions and to provoke discussions regarding the relevancy of these perceptions for new and existing programs and institutions. The implications are that educational approaches, prevention and rehabilitation strategies cannot ignore the nature of the delinquent styles of behaving.

This outline is intended to be a guide for the instructor and it is hoped that it will aid in relating the written material with the illustrative taped excerpts. Questions for discussion purposes, based on the taped excerpts, will be presented in the outline, but they are <u>not</u> a comprehensive list by any means. On the contrary, the outline is left relatively unstructured to minimize the chance of biasing the listener or of hindering new and creative ideas.

In order to obtain maximum benefit and understanding from the taped excerpts, it will require careful reading of the written material beforehand.

It is recommended that the instructor listen to the excerpts and become familiar with the content prior to presenting them to various target groups. <u>The language will undoubtedly be a barrier for some people. It is possible that after hearing the taped excerpts, the instructor will feel the excerpts are not appropriate for certain audiences</u>.

CUTLINE

Objective:

To provide insight and understanding of the delinquent's perceptions of schools, school teachers, and school associates.

Materials:

Three types of materials are enclosed. The first is a review of literature which can be used to provide information for trainees prior to the beginning of training sessions.

The second is a tape on which are recorded a series of excerpts taken from group discussions by delinquents. These excerpts all have to do with the schools. They might be used in a variety of ways in training sessions. Primarily they are stimulus material.

The third is comprised of some introductory material and transcripts of the actual excerpts themselves. These transcripts are made available because on occasion it is difficult to understand the taped discussions. After each of the transcripts there are a series of questions which relate to it. These questions serve as foci for discussion. We believe they are important because trainees do not always see the implications inherent in the excerpts.

Suggested Method Of Presentation:

A. Have trainees read all the material contained in the review of literature.

B. Prepare and orient students to the objective.

C. Play the first excerpt on the tape and integrate the content of the group discussion with the theoretical scheme in the written manuscript. (Each taped excerpt is cross-referenced with the accompanying written material.)

The instructor should encourage the class -- students -- to identify the important variables or issues which may account for or explain the behavior of the delinquent as well as the teacher.

D. Following the playing of each excerpt, have students thoroughly discuss the issues they observed. (It is possible that one or two excerpts might stimulate discussion which may require an hour or more to insure that ideas are logically related and correlated with the theoretical reading material.)

Specific Use of Each Excerpt:

The excerpts on this tape deal with the way in which delinquent boys perceive school. The excerpts are provocative and illustrate the complexities of problem behavior in the school for both teachers and students.

Excerpt Number One:

In this excerpt, the boy whom the discussion focuses upon implies that his responses to various situations are a function of his personal qualities and the social context in which the circumstances occur. It is interesting to note that friendly and supportive behavior by the faculty members can alienate as well as attract the boy. His response to such behavior depends upon those present to observe the interaction. He also displays considerable ambivalence as to whether he should seek the support of "good students" or "bad" ones.

Excerpt Number One -- Questions: This excerpt is particularly related to pages 7-11 and 13-17 of the Theoretical Paper.

1. Why did the boy feel embarrassed at the principal's complimenting him in front of the "hoods"?

2. Why was the boy pleased when the principal complimented him in front of the "high students"?

3. Teachers and the principal assumed that this boy liked to be complimented under any circumstance; yet, in the presence of his friends, he was embarrassed to be the object of such attention. The boy's reactions may have been noticeably different to the principal's remarks depending on whether they were made in his office, or in the hall with either delinquent or conventional peers present. Assuming that the principal noted this difference in reaction, what interpretation might he make concerning the boy's behavior?

4. The boy shows signs of ambivalence because he likes those who achieve in school as well as those who do not achieve in school. What implications does this have for school personnel?

5. What possible issues would account for delinquents feeling that they cannot compete academically without working harder than the "high kids" in the school setting?

6. What is the meaning and implication when a boy states that he looks up to boys who can achieve academically but still associates with the delinquent group?

7. How could this boy's fear of being a social isolate affect his behavior?

8. What possible value would there be for a teacher to understand this boy's feelings about the "high kids" and the "hoods"?

Excerpt Number Two: Questions: This excerpt is particularly related to pages 9-12 and 14-19 of the Theoretical Paper -- see especially pages 14, 15, 17.

1. If a teacher were not aware of the delinquent value system, what

implications might it have for his interaction with delinquents in the school?

a. In what possible ways might the teacher be perpetuating delinquency unintentionally?

Excerpt Number Three -- Questions: This excerpt is particularly related to pages 7-11 and 13-14 of the Theoretical Paper -- see especially pages 13 and 14.

1. Are there factors other than the personalities of the teacher and the boy which contributed to this situation?

a. For example: academic achievement, intellectual ability, social limitations, etc.

2. Does the school setting provide an opportunity for all children to have positive rewarding experiences?

a. Does the educational structure permit the teacher to effectively work with problem children?

(1) In what ways (example: the number of children in a class)?

b. Is the curriculum appropriate for all children?

3. What are some changes that might be made in the school structure and curriculum that might help alleviate the problem? Explain why.

Excerpt Number Four -- Questions: This excerpt is particularly related to pages 9-10 and 14-16 of the Theoretical Paper.

1. How could behavior such as this boy illustrated be utilitarian for him?

2. How would most teachers possibly interpret his behavior?

3. When this boy shouted the comment over the school microphone, how would school personnel possibly react to this boy?

a. Would they see it as an attack upon: (1) the school, (2) the other students, (3) upon them personally, or (4) would they see it as stemming from an attempt to influence or impress his peer (delinquent) group?

Excerpt Number Five -- Questions: This excerpt is particularly related to pages 9 and 12-19 of the Theoretical Paper -- see especially pages 15-17.

1. To what extent does one's allegiance to a specific social class influence his behavior?

   a. Overt behavior

   b. Perceptions and attitudes

2. Would it be of value in understanding the delinquent's behavior to know that girls are also a part of delinquent groups?

Excerpt Number Six -- Questions: This excerpt is particularly related to pages 12-19 of the Theoretical Paper -- see especially page 17.

1. What variables are related to the sorting of individuals into various social groups? (delinquent and nondelinquent)

   a. What are some of the variables related to the development of deviant social groups?

   b. To what extent are these groups explainable by individual "pathological" characteristics?

   c. To what extent is the existence of these groups a result of the conventional system not providing acceptance for certain classes of people?

Section Two

THE POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SCHOOL EXPERIENCES AND DELINQUENCY: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

(Twenty-Eight Pages)

THE POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SCHOOL EXPERIENCES AND DELINQUENCY: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Every society has its misfits,
Those who just never seem to find a place.
This is true, yet, we do not know why.

Is it because they don't want to fit?
Or because others will not allow them to do so?
Or both?
If both are true, which came first?
Either or neither?

There is approximately one-third of our adolescent population of high school age who do not complete their high school education.[1] These youngsters drop out of school either voluntarily or are asked to drop out by school administrators. Of those who leave school, many also experience contact with law enforcement agencies; that is, they become officially classified as "delinquents."[2] This does not imply that all school dropouts become delinquent or even that dropping out of school produces delinquency. It may be that being involved in delinquent behavior contributes to the eventual dropping out of school.

> "Yet, in a sense, the unsatisfactory and unsuccessful experiences of delinquents in the school may be viewed as a complicating factor, if not a precipitating factor, in the delinquent's story."[3]

Actually, it is impossible to separate the dropout problem from the delinquency problem. Comprehensive involvement in the literature of both problems point to marked similarity in factors found to be related

to both "school dropout" and "delinquency". Thus, in examining the relationship that school experiences have on delinquency, one is inevitably caught up in those factors which are related to "school dropout" as well. This is true because dropping out of school is such a common characteristic among delinquents.

There is a considerable amount of evidence demonstrating the extent to which delinquents are not able to compete satisfactorily in the school system. Generally, the evidence suggests that the school experience is one of frustration and disappointment to the delinquent. It implies further that some of his behavior might be viewed as a reaction to the school system. Certainly, his failure to adjust well in school is a major criterion by which courts make decisions about him.

These kinds of phenomena indicate why a close relationship between school behavior and delinquency exists. Behavior ordinarily considered deviant behavior in the school is part of the definition of official delinquency.[4]

Kvaraceus, in summarizing the findings of the Gluecks,[5] Healy and Bronner,[6] himself,[7] Merrill,[8] Sheldon et al.,[9] and Wattenberg[10] listed the following factors as being more common among delinquents than nondelinquents in their relationship to the school:

1) poor or failing marks

2) repeater (that is, being detained in a grade)

3) strong dislike or hostility for the school

4) truancy, absence from school

5) intent to leave school and end education early

6) vague or no educational and vocational goals

7) motivational problems, lack of interest, etc.

8) member of a special class (classes for remedial work in reading, etc.)

9) attendance to many different schools (that is, the family has been mobile)

10) destructive behavior, such as destroying school material and property

11) does not feel he belongs in the classroom, reports feelings of rejection by peers and teachers

12) does not participate in volunteer extracurricular activities

13) serious and persistent misbehavior in school[11]

It should be noted that several of the characteristics found by Kvaraceus to distinguish between delinquents and nondelinquents in their relationship to the school are behaviors commonly called delinquency. Take, for example, numbers 4, 10, and 13.

It is not the purpose of this paper and the materials that accompany it, however, to address the issue of causation of either delinquency or the related school dropout problem. It is hoped that through an examination of the literature and research evidence on these two subjects, motivation will be provided to do further thinking and creative work in this regard.

We wish only to raise some old issues in a new way and raise some new issues in regard to the concomitant relationship between these two social problems. Said in another way, it is our hope that these materials will suggest some additional alternatives to answering some of the questions made explicit in the opening lines of this paper. Perhaps, through this paper, some new ideas will be produced which will lead to a more creative examination of these issues. Such new ideas would hopefully lead to a more complete understanding and an explication of etiological factors producing

different kinds of socially deviant behavior and the relationship between one kind of "misfit experience" and others.

One other issue must also be understood if the ideas presented here are to be useful. By the nature of the primary focus of this paper, one might be led to believe that a child's experience in the school is thought to be the most important influence on his behavior. No such assertion is made. We strongly concur with the point of view that one's behavior is profoundly influenced by a wide range of social and personal experience. Delinquent behavior is influenced by the child's family, peers, church, and a wide range of other groups as well as the school.

Thus, the reader must keep in mind that only in the interest of discussing and thinking about specific issues can school experiences be separated from total social context related to delinquency.

What are the Common Factors (More or Less) that Characterize the Delinquent's Relationship to the School

The literature concerned with the position that delinquents, as a group, are misfits in the school system falls into the following sub-categories:

(1) The delinquent's ability to compete and fit in the school
   a. the intelligence factor
   b. the achievement factor
   c. social activities in school

(2) Possible reactions to lack of acceptance in the school
   a. negative attitude and feeling
   b. truancy and other attempts at escape
   c. other deviant behavior

(3) The relation of socio-economic and ethnic statuses to school problems

(4) The implication of peer group on the problem

The Delinquent's Ability to Compete and Fit by School Standards

The Intelligence Factor

The intelligence factor has been discussed in almost every study of crime causation and textbook in criminology.[12] On the whole, the conclusions of these writings can be stated briefly: delinquents average less in verbal intelligence than do nondelinquents, but the two groups cannot be clearly distinguished in terms of performance intelligence.[13] This finding is a significant one. Its existence has not been thoroughly examined.

If verbal intelligence is the chief distinguishing factor, then one must consider the possibility that low scores among delinquents are as much a function of instrument bias which relfects previous conditioning as they are a function of inherent deficiencies.[15] Wechsler, in speaking to this point, says that:

> "One serious stricture that can be made against the vocabulary test as a measure of man's intelligence is that the number of words a man acquires must necessarily be influenced by his education and cultural opportunity."[16]

If this is true then the high rates of illiteracy among delinquents might explain why they appear to be different from nondelinquents in regard to verbal intelligence.[17]

In looking at the problem from the dropout side, there is a wide disagreement about the relationship between intelligence and school drop-out. Some writers have stated that dropouts as a group have below average intelligence as measured by intelligence tests.[18] Others point out that all dropouts are not "low" in intelligence. They feel that the majority of school dropouts come from the average intelligence category.[19] And still

other writers suggest that there is a full range of intelligence scores among dropouts.[20] McCreary and Kitch, for example, found in the study of some 1,500 dropouts in San Diego that forty per cent (40%) were of average intelligence (average meaning the range from 90 to 110). Thirty-four per cent (34%) of his sample were below average and twelve per cent (12%) were above average in intelligence.[21] Kohler found a similar distribution.[22]

This evidence should suffice to demonstrate that there is not a clear relationship between the negative experiences that school deviants have in school and intelligence, nor between dropping out of school and lack of ability to accomplish. Stated simply, most dropouts and delinquents alike apparently have the inherent capacity to survive in school. Yet, they do not perform as well as other children. This being true, how much of a differential is there between the achievement rates of delinquents and nondelinquents?

The Achievement Factor

There is almost universal agreement that, as a group, delinquents do not achieve academically as well as nondelinquents.[23] By standardized tests and grades alike, delinquents are more retarded than nondelinquents. Cooper sums up the general findings of the field in regard to the relationship between achievement retardation and delinquency. She states that:

> "The educational status of offenders is inferior on the whole to that of the general population, tending to be slightly inferior in respect to illiteracy, somewhat inferior in respect to the amount of schooling, decidedly inferior in repeat and school progress, and clearly inferior in respect to educational achievement."[24]

The findings in regard to the relationship between being retarded and dropping out of school are remarkably similar to the findings in regard to

delinquency and retardation. They might be summarized in the following way: school dropouts are usually retarded from one or two years more than non-dropouts.[25]

Summary

The evidence suggests that the school problems of both delinquents and school dropouts are very much the same. They are "academic or scholastic misfits". Being so, however, is not necessarily due to intellectual deficiency, but possibly to other kinds of difficulties. It might be due to "the failure of the environment to offer situations wherein an individual can gain satisfactions no matter what his IQ is."[26] Nevertheless, it is not uncommon for school teachers to use an IQ score as an index of what to expect from their pupils.[27] This contributes to the possibility of labeling a child as "dumb", and incorrectly explaining away his poor reading, writing, spelling, or mathematical ability as being caused by low IQ.

Children such as these have been given another name by some who define them differently; they call them "culturally deprived." "What defines him (the culturally deprived child) is not an absence of money or nice clothes or good furniture or cars or food, although all these objects are relatively lacking. These children suffer from a poverty of experience."[28] They grow up unequipped to live in a primarily middle-class world of papers, pens, books, conversations, machines, desks, and time-clocks.[29] Generally, for this group of youngsters, the school experience has been characterized as frustrating, disappointing, and painful. As a child moves through the social system, it is very likely that the intensity of these feelings increase. It is also a reasonable hypothesis that eventually they begin to

react to these feelings and the experiences which precipitate them. The next section is devoted to a brief discussion of possible behavior that can be thought of as reactions to these negative experiences.

Possible Reactions to Unsatisfying School Experience

Negative Attitudes and Feelings

The literature is full of evidence suggesting that delinquents have a negative attitude toward school.[30] The fact that they are not able to compete satisfactorily for conventional satisfactions in the school is a partial explanation as to why they feel this way. Among dropouts the same kinds of feelings are common.[31] When school dropouts and/or delinquents are asked why they dropped out of school, lack of interest or dissatisfaction with the school is the prime reason given by them.[32] Davis and others have pointed out that they (dropouts) have a feeling of not belonging in the school or not being accepted by teachers and/or other students.[33]

Social Aspects of School Experience

We have already discussed some possible sources of these kinds of feelings; namely, deprived backgrounds and lack of academic achievement. Another possible source of these feelings among delinquents and dropouts is their exclusion from the social aspects of the school environment. There is considerable evidence suggesting that delinquents and dropouts do not participate in the volunteer extracurricular activities of the school.[34] Whether or not their nonparticipating is due to lack of social skills or system bias is not the main issue at this point. The point is that nonacceptance in a broad sense probably produces a number of negative reactions to the school system. The following section discusses what might

be considered possible reactions to these feelings and the experiences which produce them.

Behavioral Reactions to the Lack of Skills and Opportunity to Make School Satisfying

Acting out behavior, or behavior considered to be a violation of school rules, is quite common among delinquents and dropouts. Yet, the same kind of behavior is also evidenced among nondelinquent children. The difference is that such behavior is much more common among delinquents than nondelinquents.[3] Further, it usually appears at a much earlier age among delinquents.[36] In one study, for example, it was found that misconduct on the average appeared as early as the fourth grade among delinquents while it did not appear until about the seventh grade with nondelinquents.[37]

Much of this misconduct behavior is considered by the general society to be "delinquent" behavior. Behavior such as the destruction of property and stealing in school are examples. This is not to suggest that all such behavior is directed toward the school, but only to point out that the school is possibly one source of experiences which may lead to delinquent behavior.

Truancy, on the other hand, is usually considered to be primarily a school problem. It is true that such behavior is often handled officially by the juvenile court as delinquency. Yet, it is acting out behavior or deviant behavior that is particularly related to the school. The evidence leaves little doubt that truancy is much more common among delinquents and dropouts than among nondelinquents and adolescents who stay in school.[38] Among dropouts a previous record of nonattendance or truancy is one of the most common factors found.[39] Truancy might be considered the early stages of reaction while dropping out is the final step taken to escape an

unpleasant situation.

Not only is truancy more common among delinquents and dropouts, but it appears, as is the case with other kinds of deviant behavior, much earlier. One study found delinquents persistently truant as early as eleven years old. The average age of delinquents' first truancy was ten (10), whereas for nondelinquents it was twelve and a half (12½).[40]

The conclusion to be reached is that truancy, at least in many instances among delinquents and dropouts, can be interpreted as a reaction to the unhappiness they experience in the school. Their lack of a satisfactory and rewarding adjustment to the school is reflected in their attempts at escape of one type or another.

In addition to truancy, there are other kinds of behavior that manifest a desire to escape or minimize the unhappiness of the school situation. One study reported, for example, that delinquents were found to manifest a higher degree of withdrawing characteristics, as reported by their teachers.[41] The fact that delinquents choose, inasmuch as possible, nonacademic courses is possibly another. At least it is a reflection of their attempt to escape the frustrations of certain kinds of academic tasks. It was found, for example, that more delinquents expressed strong dislike for arithmetic, social studies, foreign languages, art, science, and for commercial subjects.[42] The skill more important in these kinds of classes than in manual or vocational courses is that of verbal intelligence. It will be remembered that delinquents were considerably less capable in verbal intelligence, yet seemed to have comparable ability to nondelinquents in regard to other dimensions of intelligence.

The desires of delinquents to discontinue school is further evidence

of their wishes to escape the school experience. A high proportion of delinquents wish to discontinue school immediately. A lower percentage of them wish to go on to finish high school or trade school, but very few wish to continue their education further.[43] Only three per cent (3%) of the delinquents in one study desired an education beyond high school.

This entire section might be summarized by asserting:

> "...that the low educational status of delinquent children is an important element in producing discontent and engendering asocial behavior."[44]

Yet, such a conclusion is an oversimplification of the problem. It makes the implicit assumption that a child's reactions toward the school (his desire to quit and/or be truant) are entirely a product of his relationship to the school. Such an assumption is not well-founded. A child's relationship to his family, peers, and the many other groups to which he belongs have far-reaching influence on his behavior as well. It is a known fact that most dropouts and delinquents come predominantly from lower socio-economic families in our society.[45] What, if anything, does socio-economic status have to do with these problems. This is briefly discussed in the following section.

The Implication of Socio-Economic and Ethnic Status to the Problem

As stated above, the preponderance of both delinquents and dropouts come from the lower socio-economic families in our society. Voluminous materials are available in regard to the relationship between socio-economic status and delinquency.[46]

Raising this issue is not meant as an attempt to raise all the issues

involved in the possible relationship between socio-economic or ethnic status and delinquency. The point is that if delinquents and dropouts come preponderantly from a "given strata" of our society, their behavior can partially be attributed to the behavioral patterns of that segment of the population. The lower socio-economic group, the working class, is significantly less educated than other strata. This being the case, children coming from these groups may feel and behave toward the school as their parents and peers do. If their parents have previously suffered the frustration and anxiety of not being able to accomplish satisfactions in the school system, it is likely that they will communicate such attitudes and feelings to their children. Thus, some of the child's dissatisfaction with the school, his hate of it, his wish to quit, may be viewed as a normal adaptation to his environment in addition to his lack of skills.

In some ways, lack of skills may be directly related to the home environment as well. To illustrate: if a child comes from a home where neither parent has a high school education, it is unlikely that he will get much help with his school work from them. This is partly because of the parents' lack of interest but also because they do not have the skills to do so. It might even by hypothesized that the child coming from the working class family is retarded academically before he ever begins school. It is a well-known fact that middle-class parents do considerable teaching of their children in basic academic skills before the children ever begin school. Object identification, writing, and even in some cases partial reading skills are common characteristics of five year old middle-class children.

To add to this differential start, the school is middle-class oriented. Many teachers of middle-class background consciously or unconsciously apply the standards of the middle-class to lower-class children.[47] Their doing so may have profound implication on how the child is viewed and thus on his success. It might even be said that attitudes of teachers toward children from lower socio-economic classes and ethnic groups have direct impact on school success of those children.[48] The teacher may assume that the child's lack of basic understanding is due to intelligence deficiencies rather than the inadequate experience or that his apparent ignorance is deliberate. In addition, teachers may attempt to force lower-class children to conform to standards which they have not encountered outside of the classroom.[49] By expecting or demanding this kind of behavior in both academic and social activities, a teacher's behavior may do more to perpetuate and inflate failure than it does to correct it. The school might even be guilty of having double standards for disciplining of children from different social classes.[50]

Ignorance of the basic attitudes, beliefs, and behavioral patterns of the lower-class undoubtedly contributes to misunderstanding and the inappropriate action in regard to behavior of lower-class children in the school.

One need not get involved in the literature extensively to recognize when one talks about the dropout problem or the delinquency problem, that the discussion is focused preponderantly on those children coming from lower socio-economic families. Children coming from lower-class environment inevitably will have more school adjustment problems than those coming from middle-class environments. The school system is not organized to deal with lower-class youngsters. It thus forces them to operate at a

double disadvantage. They need more help than other children because of their backgrounds, and yet, the system provides them with the least help. It thus broadens the gap in achievement of lower and middle-class children rather than closing it.

Yet, a conclusion that includes consideration of skills, opportunity and social class oversimplifies the process because there are other factors involved as well. For example, an adolescent must reconcile the demands of his peer group as well as those of his family, the school, and other groups. Among certain adolescent groups, the demands made by the peer group are almost irreconcilable with the demands made upon him by other systems. A discussion of some of the conflict between peer groups and the school system follows.

The Implications of Peer Groups on the Problem

If a boy comes from a lower socio-economic family, it is likely that he will see two kinds of children in the school. These two groups might be described as being those who can accomplish through academic and social activities and those who cannot. This, in some ways, clearly divides the middle-class children from the lower-class ones.

Many lower-class children wish acceptance in middle-class groups, and thus, they characterize themselves as unpopular or teased at school when acceptance is denied. One study, for an example, found that fourteen per cent (14%) of the delinquents considered themselves unpopular or teased at school while none of the control group expressed this opinion. It should be noted that the distinction between delinquents and control closely approximates status lines.[51] If a person is popular and accepted at school,

he will probably like school. In the same study quoted above, forty per cent (40%) of the delinquents expressed marked dislike for school while only four per cent (4%) of the controls expressed dislike.[52]

This is not to suggest that the middle-class children do not have problems of acceptance. They do have their problems, yet they are quite different than those of the lower-class child. The lower-class child finds it difficult to find any activities that are status producing. On the other hand, the middle-class child may find that acceptance and recognition depends "more" on his being involved in activities that bring glory to himself because they bring glory to the school.

The outstanding "academic student" finds little or no way to bring glory to his school since his victories academically are always personal and are often at the expense of his classmates who are forced to work harder to keep up with him.[53]

Perhaps, then, participation in social or extracurricular activities among the middle-class children is a more important way of achieving status. The star athlete, for example, can often receive meaningful status and satisfaction from his activities. It is true that athletic activities are sometimes a way for the lower-class boy to achieve some satisfaction as well. But, again, as in the case of academic activities, he must operate at a disadvantage. In many ways middle-class children have more training and/or experience in sports as well as academic activities. In addition, one's participation in extracurricular activities, sports included, is dependent upon maintaining a good grade point average. Some lower-class boys are thus excluded from participation.

One other factor in regard to peer influence should be discussed

briefly. It has to do with the extent to which lower-class children, as a group, neutralize their feelings and their behavior.[54] If there is a sharing of feelings among peers who are suffering the same kinds of experience, it is possible that eventually such attitudes and behavior will become a further hindrance to a child's accomplishment in school. Students are led to achieve in school only when there are social rewards from their peer group for doing so.[55] Thus, even students with ability or desire coming from the lower-classes may be further hindered from success because of peer pressure.

It may be said that the lack of acceptance by middle-class peers forces the lower-class boy to seek out his own kind. In one way, finding such a group tranquilizes some of the feelings of failure, yet in another way, it complicates the problem of adjustment and reduces the chance that a satisfactory adjustment can be made to the school system.

General Conclusions and Discussion

A summary of the issues presented here will not be made. Yet, something must be said about the possible solution of these problems.

Any school intervention in regard to the "dropout" or "delinquent" problem should concern itself with at least four things.

(1) The basic attitudes and beliefs of the children having adjustment problems must be understood and dealt with.

Obviously, what is meant here is that teachers must attempt early in a child's experience to understand his basic assumptions and his basic attitudes toward education and learning. To assume that they are congruent with middle-class values and attitudes is fallacious, and contributes considerably to the creation and magnification of the child's adjustment problem.

Attempts to treat or handle a lower-class child in the same way that one would treat a middle-class child are doomed to failure. Attempts to influence behavior through different middle-class sanction is a good example of this point. Attempts to embarrass a middle-class boy in class may have profound impact on his behavior, yet to do so with a lower-class boy may only give him status among his peers and encourage further deviant behavior.

(2) The discrepant backgrounds of many of the students must be considered.

Teachers must learn how to respond to children coming from discrepant social backgrounds. It is suggested that more understanding is needed of their lack of skills, why such deficiency exists, and what factors one must attempt to take into account in correcting such problems.

(3) Careful consideration must be made of the reward system of the school.

Both academic and nonacademic activities must be developed that provide rewards for students from all social classes. Curriculum changes are needed that will meet the needs of all children, and particularly those with lower academic potentials and interests.[56] Serious consideration must be made of the status derived from participation in the various nonacademic activities of the school. The inclusion of a wide range of activities giving lower-class children equal opportunity for achievement are most desirable.

It was mentioned earlier that the present school system is organized in such a way that it emphasizes verbal abstract intelligence.[57] Because

it does, and because children coming from lower socio-economic families are deficient in this regard, the system increases the maladjustment of this group of youngsters and engenders a pattern of failure rather than one of success.[58] This point emphasizes the need for curriculum revision to provide opportunity for this segment of the student enrollment. A wide range of activities involving mechanical intelligence are needed. Such a revision may prove to be a very important and potent tool in delinquency and dropout prevention.[59]

(4) The importance of peer influence cannot be ignored in curriculum modifications and school policy.

For example, there is need for special remedial courses of a "new kind," if some corrective measures are to be made with those academically retarded. Present remedial courses within the school system may only magnify the child's failure, especially when one considers the ridicule often imposed on a child by his peers for having to take such a class. This is not to suggest that remedial course teachers do not perform their job adequately or that they do not have sufficient training or knowledge to teach. It is the social context within which such programs operate that jeopardize their effectiveness. If students ridicule and belittle a child because he's "dumb" and has to take a "dumb-bell class," his feelings may interfere tremendously with the effectiveness of a good remedial teacher's efforts. Consider that one study found twice as many delinquents, when compared to nondelinquents, had been placed in special classes.[60] The point of such evidence is that the mere placement of them in remedial courses is not a complete solution to the problem. If the child is really going to benefit from such courses, it must not be a degrading experience

for him in the eyes of his peers.

Tremendous reforms in both policy and thinking must be made in regard to taking into account the child's role in peer groups. To treat him as a social isolate is to create rather than solve problems in the school. To treat the lower-class child without understanding that he is a member of a group that is very important to him, is forcing the child to think less of the school. If he is asked to make a choice between his peer group and the school system, the school will probably lose.

In conclusion, it might be said that new mechanisms are needed in the school by which the potential deviant can be more successfully involved in school activities. These mechanisms would include both curriculum modification[61] and interactive mechanisms which take into account (1) the style of life of subordinate ethnic and class groups; and (2) the importance of peers to the adolescent. School activities which tend to force a choice between conformity to the school and conformity to previous life styles and peer expectations are not solutions to the problem.

Every society has its misfits
Those who never seem to find a place.
This is true, yet, we know not why.

Some wish not to fit in a given group
Because the costs are much too high.
But there are many who want to and cannot.

Why is this so?
And why do those who fit do so much to
  prevent others from having the same privilege?

We know not why.
And we may never know!

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Section Three

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO TAPED EXCERPT MATERIAL

(Twenty-Nine Pages)

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO TAPED EXCERPT MATERIAL

This tape was developed and compiled at the Provo Experiment in Delinquency Rehabilitation. Grateful acknowledgement is given to the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime for providing the funds to make possible the development of these curriculum materials.

The Provo Experiment is commonly referred to on this tape as the Pinehills Program. This experiment is a community treatment project in which habitual delinquents, who might otherwise be incarcerated, are treated without being removed from the community. The boys continue to live at home, but are required to attend daily group therapy sessions. The excerpts on this tape were taken directly from the interaction occurring in these group meetings.

This unit deals with only one topic area, namely, the schools. Other topic areas are also being compiled, but these units will not be integrated into a single course of study. The overall goal is <u>not</u> the production of a systematic body of information on delinquents, but instead, the production of materials which might be fitted into courses of study built around a variety of topics.

Much of the worth of the excerpts lies, hopefully, in their ability to evoke some new perceptions and to promote discussions regarding the relevancy of these perceptions for new and existing programs and institutions. They tend, in general, to give substance to the idea that the behavior of

deviant children in a complex phenomenon understood only in terms of the total context in which they live. Older offenders tend to associate with peers who are similar to themselves. The more they are isolated from conventional peers and satisfactions, the more they tend to identify themselves in terms of delinquent values and points of view. Therefore, it follows that before a person can be effective in treating or changing the behavior of a delinquent, he must first be aware of and understand the social system to which that delinquent has placed his allegiance. If his identity and associates are severely threatened by adults who work with him, then it could be that these adults solidify rather than diminish his delinquent tendencies. Social and psychological resistances to change must be taken into account. This tape may provide some insight into how the delinquent thinks and what the delinquent system requires of him. It is comprised of excerpts taken from group discussions composed of boys who were persistent, delinquent offenders. A premium in the sessions was placed upon spontaneous and candid interaction. The boys are speaking in the language which is characteristic of their conversation on the streets. For many of them this language is also characteristic of the language spoken in their homes by their parents and siblings. Recognizing that our objective is to understand them, the language used by the boys should not be of concern except to characterize the way in which these boys express themselves.

Yet, our experience indicates that, for some persons, this tape will be of no value because they will find the language offensive. The danger, therefore, is that important content will be missed. But to ignore the content, merely because the language is offensive, is to be guilty of

closing one's eyes to a cross section of human behavior. It is not probable that this style of life will disappear merely because we refuse to admit that it exists. Undoubtedly it will continue, and if we are to understand it we must understand the segment of society from which it is derived.

Nevertheless, there will be some who, because of personal concerns, will be unable to profit from this tape. They should perhaps not subject themselves to this experience.

SCHOOLS

Excerpt Number One:

In this excerpt the boy upon whom the discussion is focused implies that his responses to a variety of situations are a function, not only of his own personal qualities, but of the social context in which the situations occur. What is interesting is that in some cases friendly and supportive behavior on the part of faculty members may as well alienate the boy as attract him. His responses to that behavior will depend upon others who are present to perceive the interaction. He displays considerable ambivalence as to whether he should seek the support of "good students" or "bad ones."

Allan: I can remember a long fuckin' time ago when I was going down at Central, I tried, I tried to learn. I'd get some fuckin' big kind of notion in my head that I can't learn, I'm too fuckin' dumb, and I'd just turn my back around and say, "fuck it," and I wouldn't learn. I just quit. I wouldn't go nowhere. I'd just stay right where I was at.

Vaughn: How did this come on? I mean, did -- when your teacher or your mother said you're a stupid nut or something, did this effect you like that or something?

Allan: No, when I was about in fourth grade they really tried helping me and I got so that I was doing pretty good. When I got in the fifth grade all the fuckin' teachers didn't give a shit about me and it doesn't seem like they even tried to help me. They'd go help the other kids in the sixth grade and in seventh and eighth grade. That's about the only year that I at least attempted to try.

Vaughn: Do you think, Allan, that the reason that they just gave up on you was that you ran around with these hoodlums, or to speak of not giving a hell?

Allan: That might be it because I know a lot of teachers down at Dixon right now that do a lot to help me.

Bob: Why do you think that is?

Allan: I don't know. Cause I think I've got along a lot better in classes.

Bob: Isn't there something else?

Allan: What do you mean, isn't there something else?

Bob: You're showing a little more interest.

Vaughn: You want to help yourself.

Allan: I don't know. Mr. Kovacks called me in his office quite a few times congratulating me on how I've done.

Vaughn: How does that affect you ultimately when they congratulate you on something like that?

Allan: It makes me want to try a little bit more. I do a little bit more every time they congratulate me.

Lynn: What if they quit congratulating you every time?

Allan: I don't know, I'll still try.

Brown: How does it affect you, Lynn?

Lynn: It makes me want to try a lot more. It makes me sort of feel that if the principal comes up to me in the hall way with a bunch of kids around and compliments me on what I did or what I'm doing or something, then I feel shitty around a lot of kids and if the principal comes up --

Vaughn: What makes you feel shitty?

Lynn: Oh, just around a bunch of kids --

Brown: Would you rather have him chew you out?

Lynn: No, I feel okay when he does it in his office and when there ain't nobody around . . . bunch of kids.

Bob: Hey, what kind of kids?

Lynn: Huh?

Bob: What kind of kids?

Lynn: Oh, what do you mean what kind of kids?

Bob: I mean kids that don't do good in school or, you know, kids that's A students or --

Lynn: I don't run around with kids that's A students. I run around with about inbetween. One thinks they're bad and one thinks they're good.

Vaughn: C's and D's?

Lynn: About that.

Bryce: Do them kids ride your ass when the principal comes up and does that, don't they tease you or anything like that?

Lynn: No, just laugh.

Jerry: What did you think when they laughed?

Lynn: Nothing, just smartin' -- laughin' and just smartin'.

Neil: Did the principal ever do that to you, Allan, in the halls?

Allan: Yeah.

Neil: Around a bunch of kids?

Allan: Yeah.

Neil: How does that make you feel?

Allan: Shitty.

Neil: Why?

Allan: I don't know. Just does. Makes me kind of feel good in a way. It kind of makes me feel, I don't know.

Neil: How does it make you feel good?

Allan: To come up and compliment me?

Neil: Why does it make you feel good?

Allan: Because I can see what I've tried to better myself.

Neil: Isn't it something else that makes you feel good? When you're around a bunch of kids and he comes up and congratulates you?

Allan: Well, some certain kids it does and some kids it don't.

Neil: What kind of kids does it?

Allan: Make me feel good?

Neil: Yeah.

Allan: Around big boys.

Neil: What do you mean, tough ones?

Allan: No, high students.

Brown: What do you mean by big students?

Allan: I don't know, the ones that's high in school.

Jerry: Let us have some idea why they liked you better.

Allan: I guess because I've tried a lot more and I got along with more kids. It used to be the only way I could get friends is to show I was a fighter, tough and all that. Now it's a lot easier. I think I was kind of putting on a front when I first started. Then when the teachers started to smile and laugh some times, I don't know, it just made me feel good when he came up and did that and joke with me a lot more.

Neil: Hey Allan, which friends are most true to you? The ones that you fight and that, or the ones you make friends out of by going through your school work and they think a little more of you?

Allan: I don't know. I think that I really couldn't say which one I like the most. I like a lot of my friends the new ones and the old ones. I know I've made quite a few new ones down there.

Vaughn: How are they? I mean around the school and that?

Allan: Well, I've made friends with a lot of hoods and I've made a lot of friends with a lot of high kids.

Neil: How come you call them high kids?

Allan: I don't know a better name to call them.

Bob: Do you think they're better than you or something like that?

Allan: Yeah, I think they are.

Bob: Why do you think they are?

Allan: Cause they can read a lot better than me and get a lot better grades than I can.

Vaughn: So you think that kids that make a lot higher grades and that are better than you?

Allan: I look up to them kids.

Jerry: Do you think they work as hard as you do?

Allan: Well, God, I guess not, I don't know. I think they do in a way because I think I . . . I don't know, I'm not saying.

Excerpt Number One -- Questions:

1. Why did the boy feel embarrassed at the principal's complimenting him in front of the "hoods"?

2. Why was the boy pleased when the principal complimented him in front of the "high students"?

3. Teachers and the principal assumed that this boy liked to be complimented under any circumstance; yet, in the presence of his friends, he was embarrassed to be the object of such attention. The boy's reactions may have been noticeably different to the principal's remarks depending on whether they were made in his office, or in the hall with either delinquent or conventional peers present. Assuming that the principal noted this difference in reaction, what interpretation might he make concerning the boy's behavior?

4. The boy shows signs of ambivalence because he likes those who achieve in school as well as those who do not achieve in school. What implications does this have for school personnel?

5. What possible issues would account for delinquents feeling that they cannot compete academically without working harder than the "high kids" in the school setting?

6. What is the meaning and implication when a boy states that he looks up to boys who can achieve academically but still associates with the delinquent group?

7. How could this boy's fear of being a social isolate affect his behavior?

8. What possible value would there be for a teacher to understand this boy's feelings about the "high kids" and the "hoods"?

Excerpt Number Two:

In the excerpt which follows, a boy describes a recent incident which occurred in his history class. The teacher was criticizing the behavior of some boys in the school who were seen as trouble-makers. It illustrates that delinquents are aware of both the conventional and the delinquent values and there is evidence of vacillation between the two value systems. This excerpt offers some support to the idea that middle-class people are possibly more ignorant of the delinquent system than delinquents are of the conventional system. Because the delinquent is aware of both systems and fairly adept at functioning at either or both, the delinquent has tremendous advantage over the adult who operates only from the conventional frame of reference.

Stan: Fuckin' Mr. Grnoski, though, my History teacher still thinks I'm still gettin' in more trouble than anybody else in the school. The other day he was giving us a lecture on how bad we was and that he just couldn't understand kids, and then he said, "Could I use you for an example, Stan?"

Bob: Oh, God!

Stan: He couldn't understand kids like me --

Bob: So, what'd he say about you? Like that?

Stan: Yeah, he says, "Could I use you as an example?"

Kent: But did you care?

Stan: I said, "I don't care."

Bob: Do you care what they think about you?

Stan: The teachers?

Bob: What about the kids?

Stan: I don't care what the teachers think.

Milton: How did it make you feel when Mr. Grnoski asked if he could use you for an example

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We are interrupting the group discussion at this point and suggest that before listening to the remainder of the excerpt you discuss the following three questions:

1. How do you think this boy felt when the teacher used him as an example of a trouble-maker within the school?
2. How do you think it would have made you feel had you been this boy?
3. Why do you think the teacher did what he did?

Now that you have discussed how this boy felt and the possible reasons for the teacher's actions, we will play the rest of this excerpt. It will be a surprise ending for most people, and indicates how little we understand the delinquent system. You will see that the teacher really created, or at least contributed to, a situation which gave status and recognition to the boy for delinquent behavior although this was not the teacher's intent.

Stan: I guess it made me feel kind of good.

Milton: It seems to me like it would make you feel really bad.

Larry: I can't stand being used as an example.

Milton: I can sometimes, if it is good.

Larry: Unless it's something good, yeah.

Randy: I think Stan still likes people to look up to him for being a big tough boy, too.

Stan: Sometimes I do.

Kent: What do you feel that you accomplish by letting everybody know how big a hood you are?

Stan: Christ, I don't know what I feel like.

Kent: Is it fear? Do they fear you?

Stan: No, I want to make a lot of friends.

Kent: Do you think everybody looks up to people that are hoods?

Stan: Some people do. It depends on, God, I don't know who I'm, I guess what I'm trying to do in class, in history, I guess I was trying to just be a funny fucker, I guess.

Kent: Do you do anything to impress me or make me think that you're a hood?

Stan: I don't think I do.

Kent: Well, which kind of kids would you rather have look up to you?

Bob: The goodie-goodies or the hoodlums or young kids?

Stan: Which ones would I rather have look up to me, the goodie-goodies or the hoods?

Group: What's the difference?

Stan: You mean which ones would I rather have look up to me? I guess I'd rather have -- oh, there's a lot of kids that I would like hoodlums to look up to me and there's a lot of kids like goodie-goodies I'd like to look up to me.

Randy: Well, let's use real examples. Who would you rather have look up to you, me or Joiner?

Stan: Oh, both of you. I like you both about the same.

Randy: . . . been keeping out of trouble and he ain't.

Stan: I like you both about the same.

Randy: Well, which would you rather have look up to you?

Stan: Both of you.

Randy: Well, which one in particular?

Stan: It depends on which one I'm around. I can change both ways.

Scott: You can what?

Stan: I can change. One minute I can be a goodie-goodie and --

Bob: And the next minute you can be a big greasy vandal, huh?

Stan: Yeah.

Excerpt Number Two -- Questions:

1. If a teacher were not aware of the delinquent value system, what implications might it have for his interaction with delinquents in the school?

a. In what possible ways might the teacher be perpetuating delinquency unintentionally?

Excerpt Number Three:

By way of introduction to the next excerpt, the boy upon whom the discussion is centered is a very nonverbal, academically retarded individual. I attended a number of meetings with his teachers and they explained that he was incapable of doing ninth grade work. The majority of the teachers had this boy reading third and fourth grade primers in their classes and indicated that it presented quite a challenge to him. The geography teacher had him trace maps most of the time, but admitted both he and the boy were getting tired of this. It is obvious in this excerpt that the teachers and this boy are victims of a situation which neither have caused nor can either completely correct. The structure of the school system itself contributes to and irritates the situation. The problems which the teachers experienced with this boy are inherent in the educational system and are not necessarily precipitated by either the teachers or the boy, although none of the individuals involved in this painful situation clearly recognizes this fact. Instead, their interpretation is that the problem originates out of personal feelings of dislike, contempt, rebellion, or conscious attempt to punish or inflict pain upon the other party.

Buddy: Since you are talking about school, I would like to talk about my fifth period.

Mick: What for?

Buddy: Oh, that God damn Beasley -- I don't, about the first week me and him got into a fight and God he slapped the shit out of me.

Ron: The teacher?

Buddy: Yeah.

Ron: What did you get in the fight over?

Buddy: He says -- I was talking about something, I was talking to a kid, so somebody made a funny noise at something and he told me to shut-up. I said I didn't do it, and I says what are you telling me to shut-up for? I said I didn't do nothing. He says just be quiet, you shut-up and I started mumbling to myself or something. He come back there and he said, "I told you to shut-up," and I didn't say nothing. I turned around and I just says, "I wasn't doing nothing," or something. And he told me to get up and go to the back of the room. I got up to go to the back of the room and I turned around -- it made me mad -- 'cause I wasn't doing nothing. I was still mumbling at something. This was a-- about the first of the year.

Ron: What are you trying to say?

Buddy: Well, I was just telling you the story but ever since that he has kind of hated me and he never, in the first place he never treat[illegible] me as one of his students and then --

Stan: How did he treat you?

Buddy: Just like an outcast, just like I wasn't there.

Mike: Is that the way he treats you now?

Jim: He treated you different than the other kids?

Buddy: Huh?

Jim: He treated you different then the other kids?

Buddy: Yeah. And then I had a talk with him 'bout three weeks ago and then he finally says, "Well, I guess you're as sick of hearing me talk as I am sick of talking to you?" and I says, "You're right." And then he says that there wasn't no other class that I could take or something and he says that's why I couldn't get a transfer out of there or something and I tried to get a transfer out of there but I couldn't. And then he says, "If you don't cooperate that way or something then I'm going to have to use force or something," and I says, "What's that?" and he doubled up his fist and he said, "This."

Scott: What class does he teach?

Buddy: Math. And so now the other day, the last two days -- he said if I'd act like one of the other ones and that until he seen that I was equal as them or something, I can't remember exactly what he said, that maybe he'd start treating me like one of the other ones.

And so the last couple, about three days I've just been going in there and doing just like the others have been trying to been doing and we had a test a couple of days ago and he never passed me out any paper and then the day before that he passed us out some rulers and he never passed me any. And then yesterday he give everybody in the class a compass and a ruler and some paper and that to do their stuff with and he never give me nothin'.

Jim: Why didn't he?

Buddy: I don't know.

Kent: Did you ask him for some? Why not?

Buddy: Cause I didn't want to. He'd probably say -- I just didn't want to because he probably wouldn't give me any anyhow and I'm pretty sure that he wouldn't have.

Scott: You're making it sound, Bud, like it is all the teacher's fault.

Buddy: I think it is.

Roger: It sounds like he might be a pretty good teacher to me.

Buddy: Beasley, he ain't no teacher.

Ron: What did you do when he handed out the ruler the one time, just mess around with it?

Jim: He is just lettin' you know who's boss. It's more like, you fucker, if you don't ask for it or anything. If it was me, if I wouldn't say my timestables and just pass them off, I would just be ignorant back.

Scott: Why did you say, Roger, that it sounded like a pretty good teacher to you.

Roger: God, I've had teachers, some of them that didn't treat us worth a shit and that, but I learned a lot more from then than some that I got along with real good and that.

Ron: I think that teachers like that are just about ---

Roger: Just the way he talks, he puts the rules to him and tells you who is boss.

Scott: Well, what about your English class?

Buddy: Mr. Parks? Well, today, I was going to copy down his new spelling words and he said that he was going to get me another list.

Jim: Do you get along with Mr. Parks?

Buddy: Yeah.

Jim: Do you talk to him?

Buddy: He's one of my best teachers, I think.

Scott: What do you mean, he was going to give you another list?

Buddy: Just another list.

Roger: Easier words or something?

Buddy: Me and this other kid -- God, it's real embarrassing -- each year we divide into teams and we sit in teams, there's one and two and three. I was on row three and Bill was on two or something and we're about the two stupidest ones in the class and he made up this list four -- row four or something and Christ, he's got me and him sitting over there all by ourselves. We have to spell the words and that every time we take a test and that. God, I believe me and Bill's got about 21 points or something like that and the other kids has got quite a lot.

Scott: What do you mean he made you sit on row four? You mean, he made another row for you two? That bothered ya?

Buddy: Yeah. Well, it was our fault cause we haven't been trying I guess. Everybody practices the words and that. Christ, everybody just looks at us and that and thinks we're stupid bastards and they're right.

Scott: Do you spell the words out loud?

Buddy: Yeah.

Roger: It seems to me if you're so embarrassed you'd start trying.

Excerpt Number Three -- Questions:

1. Are there factors other than the personalities of the teacher and the boy which contributed to this situation?

a. For example: academic achievement, intellectual ability, social limitations, etc.

2. Does the school setting provide an opportunity for all children to have positive rewarding experiences?

a. Does the educational structure permit the teacher to effectively work with problem children?

(1) In what ways (example: the number of children in a class)?

b. Is the curriculum appropriate for all children?

3. What are some changes that might be made in the school structure and curriculum that might help alleviate the problem? Explain why.

Excerpt Number Four:

The next excerpt offers some interesting views regarding the extent to which some boys will go attempting to gain acceptance among certain peers. This boy's behavior seems senseless and meaningless even to some boys within the group, whereas to others, it did not appear unreasonable. Behavior such as this boy displayed was perceived by him as being utilitarian in terms of building his reputation in the delinquent system.

Dan: Did you just want to get a reputation for yourself?

Stan: Yeah, at Central, I tried real hard.

Scott: How did you do that?

Stan: Oh, one day I picked up the microphone in Central, and I says, "Everybody in this school is a cocksucker."

Dan: (laughingly) When was this, last year?

Stan: Yeah.

Paul: You just tryin' to be smart, or what?

Stan: Just trying to be smart.

Paul: Is that the only way you tried to get a reputation?

Stan: I'd go around and kick shit out of a lot of kids.

Paul: Trying to get a big fightin' reputation and a drinkin' reputation, huh?

Stan: I tried to get a smokin" reputation too. Once I made this kid put a smoke in his mouth and walk up and down the sidewalk during lunch hour and I did it to him saying that he had to walk up and down the sidewalk in front of the school two times.

Jim: How'd that help you get a smoking reputation?

Stan: Well, he went and told the principal that I made him do it.

Scott: How'd you make him do it?

Paul: What do you mean? Did you want everybody to know that he smokes?

Mike: Told him he'd beat the shit out of him if he didn't.

Stan: Told him I'd beat the shit out of him if he didn't.

Paul: I kind of think I believe him now, but I kind of think there is something the matter with you.

Stan: What do you mean? What, that I'm crazy?

Paul: Well --

Jim: What makes you think that?

Dan: He thinks he is dumb.

Paul: God, a few minutes ago, we asked him why he don't go get drunk with his friend, because he can't he goes to the youth home and my brother is in love with his girl. And then, he takes up the microphone and called everyone a cocksucker.

Stan: Well, my God, I had to --

Paul: Anyone in their right mind wouldn't do something like that.

Mike: I think so.

Stan: You guys take it the wrong way.

Jim: It's just to be messin' around.

Mike: God, I seen a lot of kids do that, yellin' in the microphone in front of a bunch of people behind the stage or something.

Milton: God, when I first met him, God, he acted stupider than a fucker. God, he used to get a kick out of makin' me think he was crazy. He used to go to the staking rink and brag with Duane, what's his name, he would brag with Duane _____ because he thought he made me think he was crazy. That's what Duane told me.

Stan: Brag to him?

Milton: Yeah, brag to him.

Stan: Oh, yeah.

Milton: He tried to put over to me that he was crazy, and God, I thought he was. 'Till me and Duane got talking about it, down skating one night.

Jim: How come you done that? Want to make everybody think you are crazy?

Stan: Just wanted to make everybody think that I was neat.

Scott: That you were what?

Stan: Make everybody think I was neat.

Paul: Do you think that's neat . . . to be crazy?

Stan: I thought it was.

Mike: You just wanted attention, that's all.

Stan: Yeah.

Excerpt Number Four -- Questions:

1. How could behavior such as this boy illustrated be utilitarian for him.

2. How would most teachers possibly interpret his behavior?

3. When this boy shouted the comment over the school microphone, how would school personnel possibly react to this boy?

a. Would they see it as an attack upon (1) the school, (2) the other students, (3) upon them personally, or (4) would they see it as stemming from an attempt to influence or impress his peer (delinquent) group?

Excerpt Number Five:

The following excerpt offers some support to the idea that delinquents are aware of social classes and their relative position in the class structure. This excerpt suggests that the chances of bridging the gap between the delinquent and conventional students are quite remote. It is not simply a case of conventional students not accepting the delinquents, but it appears that the avoidance tendency is just as prominent among the delinquents. As evidenced from this discussion, it is difficult for some delinquents to conceive of the idea that there are any adolescents who do not get in trouble.

Tom: Well, God, nobody else likes me.

Randy: That's because you get in trouble, isn't it?

Tom: Yeah.

Scott: How do you know no one else likes you?

Tom: 'Cause I don't run around with any of them. And I don't like them.

Jack: How do you know they don't like you? Maybe they would like to run around with you.

Stan: Well, I think he don't want to run around with them.

Jack: Yeah.

Tom: I don't want to run around with them.

Bob: I'll sit and argue with you about that. I don't think you can draw a definite line between the kids that get in trouble and the kids that don't.

Jack: Yeah.

Bob: I think everybody drinks -- everybody races and fucks around like that.

Scott: Everybody?

Tom: Just damn near everybody. All the kids my age that I know of do.

Ron: I can't think of any in our school that don't.

Tom: If you do find maybe one or two that don't, well, they are so God damn stuck on theirselves that they just get a little group of their own and you couldn't horn in in a million years.

Randy: Well, I think you are in the same boat.

Tom: Huh?

Randy: The kids you run around with always get in trouble.

Jack: I think what you are saying, Tommy, is that you don't know anybody that doesn't get in trouble, you are trying to say that because, you think, "Well, if I don't know anybody, well, that's an excuse. If I don't know anybody that don't stay out of trouble, then I'll just keep running with these guys because they are as good as anybody. I don't know anybody."

Leo: Well, I know a kid that don't get in what I would consider much trouble, but they still get in trouble. They smoke, they drink once in a while.

Scott: Well, you said that every kid in Provo High School gets in trouble. They drink or something like that. Is that right?

Tom: There isn't nobody that I could name that doesn't drink.

Leo: What about you Mike? What would you say?

Mike: Sure, there's a lot of them that don't drink. And don't get in trouble.

Tom: Who?

Mike: Well, a lot of the kids on the Junior Council and that don't and there's a lot of kids that I know that don't.

Randy: Just because they don't drink doesn't mean that they don't speed.

Tom: Reeves drinks. So does Simpson.

Mike: He's one of us. He's just kind of like us. You just see the guys that get in trouble. You don't see anybody else.

Leo: That's what I was thinking. You don't look at anybody else. You just look at the guys you want to look at.

Scott: What do you mean when you say, "He's one of us."

Mike: He's one of the ones that get in trouble.

Randy: See, there's a group that stay down at one end of the halls and then there's a group that stays up at the other end. And the ones that stays at the end that me and him stay in is the one that gets in trouble and the ones that don't get in trouble have good grades and, oh, you know, they stay down at the other end.

Tom: Yeah, but God, there's also such a thing as social class. You can't run around with kids out of your social class.

Mike: You didn't say that.

Scott: What determines the social class?

Tom: Well, some of the rich bastards that live up on Snob Hill.

Mike: I know a lot of poor bastards over in Springville that are in the high social class.

Randy: What about Reeves?

Tom: What about him?

Randy: His old man's a millionaire. He runs around with us.

Tom: I know it. It's just like I said, "He's one of us." But it's very rarely that you find a millionaire kid that runs around with --

Randy: He runs around with you. His old man's a professor. He lives on Snob Hill.

Ron: In a way I kind of agree with Tommy that it's kind of hard to run around with someone that's in a different social class.

Jack: What social class would you put you in?

Ron: Not the lowest, but not quite average either.

Scott: Where do you put yourself, Tommy?

Tom: Not the lowest either, just about average. Well, God, what I mean is that I just can't walk up to some of them. You just can't go around with kids out of your class. I can't stand them.

Scott: What do you mean?

Tom: I can't stand the way they act.

Jack: Because you like to get in trouble and they don't?

Randy: They act better than you. They look down upon you.

Tom: They act better than you and God, I don't know.

James: They don't smoke and they go different places than you do.

Mike: The way I see it is that the guys that get in trouble is the big bad asses of the school. All the ruff tough fuckers that have been in Ogden and go up to the lake.

Tom: You think everybody looks up to you for it?

Scott: Do you feel the same about girls?

Tom: Yeah. God, I don't want to go out with, I don't know. I guess that I couldn't go out with girls in a higher class than me.

Leo: How do you know?

Tom: Well, I could go out with some of them but --

Scott: Well, do the girls that you go out with get in trouble?

Tom: Yeah.

Randy: All of them?

Tom: Not all of them.

Leo: It seems like the girls that I go out with do.

James: Me, too.

Scott: How about you Mike?

Mike: Ummmm, yeah.

Scott: Is there anybody here that doesn't go with girls? Or goes with girls that don't get in trouble?

Group: There are a lot -- Kim, Marg --

Leo: Yes, I know her.

Randy: They don't get in trouble that I know of.

Ron: What do you mean, her little sister was running an illegal whore house.

Tom: You mean her big sister.

Excerpt Number Five -- Questions:

1. To what extent does one's allegiance to a specific social class influence his behavior?

   a. Overt behavior

   b. Perceptions and attitudes

2. Would it be of value in understanding the delinquent's behavior to know that girls are also a part of delinquent groups?

Excerpt Number Six:

In the next excerpt a boy in retrospect, describes significant events in his early school experiences. The clothes this boy wore became a source of ridicule for him from other students, and resulted in a selection process in which he would seek out other boys with circumstances similar to his own.

Bob: Why do you want us to know about the kids you run around with?

Roger: I don't know -- they're just the ones that -- just my friends and I feel about them different than I do about most other kids that I know.

Mike: How come you feel different about them?

Roger: That's why I started going with them, cause they always treated me decent.

Mike: How's decent?

Roger: They're fun to be with and they didn't act like I was below them and we just had a lot of fun together.

Mike: How did they act like -- like you was above them or something?

Roger: They didn't but most of the other kids did.

Bob: Above em or below em?

Roger: Most of the other kids that I didn't go around with, they acted like I was below them.

Lynn: Why was that?

Roger: When I first started it was in Provost that I remember and God, I always had to wear shoes like that to school and everybody would laugh at me except for those guys and they would laugh at them for the same thing.

Scott: What do you mean you had to wear those kind?

Roger: We had to wear shoes like that to school, low side of the shoe. Everybody'd just laugh their ass off at me and I didn't have real nice clothes so I just started going around with kids that dressed a lot like I did. They never made fun of me.

Mike: Like that or like Nick's? His are just above his ankles.

Roger: I wouldn't mind like Nick's. Like them.

Buster: Like mine?

Roger: I had to wear those things to school.

Scott: Well, why did you have to? Your mother made you or --

Roger: Well, they held up longer and we couldn't afford to buy me shoes all the time.

Scott: What's the matter Buster?

Buster: God, I don't know.

Roger: Well, I like them as work shoes.

Buster: It just seems kinda funny.

Roger: I hated to wear them to school, in fact once when we moved back up here and I was going to start to school again, I threw away a pair and told Mom that somebody stold them from or I lost them someplace so she'd get me some other kind -- she still got me another pair of them. I just started going around with kids that dressed a lot like me cause they didn't make fun.

Scott: What grade were you in then?

Roger: Second when I can first remember of it. I can't remember too much about it.

Mike: You mean you were in the second grade and wore them kind of shoes?

Roger: They were black. That's when I started going around with Gordy 'cause he didn't have good clothes neither he was one that never did laugh at em or make fun of em cause he had to wear the same thing.

Mike: I thought before that you said you had good clothes and that you felt sorry for him.

Roger: I do now, but I didn't then. So I started going with him. I started going with Stafnalls about the same time.

Scott: Well, what kind of remarks did people make to you?

Roger: Christ. Then other kids, they'd come along in decent shoes and just laugh at me and just point at my shoes.

Lynn: Did you ever say anything to them?

Roger: Yeah, lots of times.

Boy: What did you say?

Roger: They'd just laugh at me and say "you've sure got good looking shoes," and like that shit.

Scott: What did you do when they did this?

Roger: Lots of times I got in a fight with them and lots of times they were bigger so I'd just tell them to shut up and they didn't have such good ones theirselves.

Mike: How'd it make you feel when they was cutting you like that, saying you didn't have good looking shoes and --

Roger: Pretty bad.

Bob: Did you cry a lot or something?

Roger: No, but I felt real sorry for myself for having to wear them. I started getting older and finally I went and bought a pair of my own shoes, something besides them. After that my Mom started getting me some decent looking shoes. I kept, still going around with the same kids though. I liked them.

Mike: How did you feel about your Mom when she was buying you those shoes?

Roger: Well, I -- God, I can't remember. I used to get pissed off when she'd buy them.

Mike: Didn't you tell her you wanted some other kind?

Roger: No, 'cause I knew that we couldn't afford another kind cause they wouldn't hold up.

Buster: Did your friends feel the same way you did?

Roger: I think so. In fact I know Gordy did.

Mick: How do you know Gordy did?

Roger: Cause he was always ashamed of his clothes. He wore old suit pants all the time everyplace he went. He'd never go to dances cause his clothes looked shabby and everything.

Mike: Did he tell you that?

Roger: Yeah.

Mike: What about these other kids you run around with, did they feel the same way about their clothes?

Roger: Yeah, Gordy and Stafnalls were about the only ones I run around with then.

Excerpt Number Six -- Questions:

1. What variables are related to the sorting of individuals into various social groups? (delinquent and nondelinquent)

a. What are some of the variables related to the development of deviant social groups?

b. To what extent are these groups explainable by individual "pathological" characteristics?

c. To What extent is the existence of these groups a result of the conventional system not providing acceptance for certain classes of people?